

CIA/OCI/BRIEF 151-75
29 SEPTEMBER 1975

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 151-75.4

PERU: IN A MOVE THAT WILL TEST THE POLITICAL STRENGTH OF PRESIDENT MORALES BERMUDEZ FOUR WEEKS AFTER TAKING OFFICE, THE MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF PERU ON SEPTEMBER 25 ANNOUNCED A 12.8-PERCENT DEVALUATION OF THE COUNTRY'S CURRENCY.4

THE DEVALUATION, WHICH TAKES EFFECT ON SEPTEMBER 29, WILL UNIFY THE PREVIOUS DUAL-RATE SYSTEM, INCREASE IMPORT COSTS, AND MAKE PERU'S EXPORTS--PRIMARILY MINERALS AND FISH PRODUCTS--MORE COMPETITIVE.4

THE MOVE IS LIKELY TO CAUSE SOME CIVILIAN OPPOSITION. DEVALUATION HAS BEEN A PARTICULARLY SENSITIVE PROBLEM FOR THE SEVEN-YEAR OLD MILITARY GOVERNMENT; THE PREVIOUS DEVALUATION BY CIVILIAN PRESIDENT BELAUNDE FIGURED PROMINENTLY IN HIS OUSTER BY THE ARMED FORCES IN 1968.4

ALTHOUGH THE SEPTEMBER 26'S ANNOUNCEMENT IS LIKELY TO HAVE A CALMING EFFECT ON THE COUNTRY'S FINANCIAL COMMUNITY, LABOR GROUPS MAY VIEW IT AS AN EFFORT TO NEGATE RECENT WAGE INCREASES. THE UNIONS PROBABLY ARE STILL SMARTING FROM THE EFFECTS OF AUSTERITY MEASURES ANNOUNCED BY THEN PRIME MINISTER MORALES BERMUDEZ LAST SUMMER.4

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MORALES BERMUDEZ, WHO HOPES TO BEGIN BUILDING CIVILIAN SUPPORT FOR THE MILITARY-LED REVOLUTION--A GOAL THAT ELUDED HIS PREDECESSOR FOR NEARLY SEVEN YEARS--HAS PLACED HIS OWN REPUTATION ON THE LINE AND NOW APPEARS TO BE TAKING A FIRM HAND IN SETTING THE DIRECTION OF THE REVOLUTION. GIVEN HIS STRONG MILITARY BACKING AND HIS ECONOMIC EXPERTISE, MORALES BERMUDEZ PROBABLY HAS SUFFICIENT SUPPORT TO WITHSTAND ANY LIKELY OPPOSITION.4

FURTHER ECONOMIC POLICY CHANGES ARE LIKELY, AND THERE ARE OTHER MILITARY LEADERS--PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO STRONGLY SUPPORTED FORMER PRESIDENT VILASCO WHO MIGHT OPPOSE MORALES BERMUDEZ IF PROLONGED OR SERIOUS OBJECTIONS TO SUCH POLICIES DEVELOP. {CONFIDENTIAL}
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EUROPEAN BRIEF 151-75.4

1. PORTUGAL: PORTUGAL'S NEW LEADERS HAVE SET UP A "MILITARY INTERVENTION GROUP" THAT IS SUPPOSED TO HELP RESTORE MILITARY DISCIPLINE. THE GROUP WAS FORMED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL, PRESUMABLY TO PUT DOWN DEMONSTRATIONS LIKE THE ONE ~~THURSDAY~~ THURSDAY EVENING BY EXTREMIST SOLDIERS SUPPORTED BY THE COMMUNISTS.4

THE INTERVENTION GROUP WILL BE HEADED BY AN ARMY GENERAL WHO HAS SO FAR STAYED ALOOF FROM POLITICS; HE WILL REPORT DIRECTLY TO PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES. RECRUITS FOR THE GROUP WILL BE DRAWN FROM ALL THREE MILITARY SERVICES.4

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NEW GROUP AND THE PRESENT INTERNAL SECURITY COMMAND--HEADED BY GENERAL OTELO DE CARVALHO--IS NOT CLEAR. CARVALHO SAID IN LISBON LAST NIGHT THAT THE INTERVENTION ~~GROUP~~ GROUP WOULD ASSUME AT LEAST SOME OF HIS COMMAND'S RESPONSIBILITIES FOR KEEPING PUBLIC ORDER. THE NEW COUNCIL PROBABLY FEELS THAT CARVALHO'S COMMAND, WHICH IS BADLY FRAGMENTED POLITICALLY, CANNOT BE RELIED UPON.4

THERE IS, IN FACT, LITTLE DOUBT THAT THE NEW FORCE IS A

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DIRECT SLAP AT CARVALHO, WHO IS NOT IN STEP WITH THE NEW MAJORITY
IN THE COUNCIL. A STATEMENT CARVALHO MADE THURSDAY CONDONING
THE THEFT OF AUTOMATIC RIFLES BY ONE OF HIS SUBORDINATES
PROBABLY INFLUENCED THE DECISION. CARVALHO'S MEMBERSHIP IN
THE RULING COUNCIL COULD BE IN JEOPARDY, SINCE HE OCCUPIES
A POSITION RESERVED FOR THE SECURITY FORCES CHIEF.4

THE ACTION MAY HAVE ALSO BEEN AIMED AT THE ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF, GENERAL FABIAO. THE GENERAL TALKS OF THE NEED FOR MILITARY DISCIPLINE, BUT FAILS TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT.4

A COMMENT FRIDAY BY ALVARO CUNHAL HAS CAST DOUBT ON THE COMMUNIST PARTY'S CONTINUED PARTICIPATION IN THE NEW GOVERNMENT. CUNHAL, ASKED UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS PARTY MEMBERS MIGHT RESIGN FROM THE GOVERNMENT, DECLARED THE CONDITIONS FOR COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT HAVE STILL NOT BEEN RESOLVED. CUNHAL APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN REFERRING TO THE SELECTION, YET TO BE MADE, OF 20 MORE SUBCABINET OFFICIALS. ELEVEN SUCH POSTS WERE FILLED ON TUESDAY, AND THE COMMUNISTS GOT ONLY ONE. (SECRET)

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2 PORTUGAL-EASTERN EUROPE: PORTUGUESE PRESIDENT COSTA GOMES ARRIVED IN WARSAW ON SATURDAY TO BEGIN A WEEK'S OFFICIAL VISIT TO POLAND AND THE USSR.4

FOREIGN MINISTER MELO ANTUNES, WHO WAS TO ACCOMPANY HIM, DELAYED HIS DEPARTURE UNTIL MONDAY. ACCORDING TO A PORTUGUESE OFFICIAL, THE TROUBLED SITUATION IN ANGOLA IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CHANGE IN THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S PLANS.4

EARLY SUNDAY, SOLDIERS IN LISBON DISPERSED A CROWD OF DISABLED WAR VETERANS WHO TRIED TO ~~EN~~BLOCK THE EXIT OF CABINET MEMBERS FROM A MEETING. THE VETERANS HAVE BEEN PRESSING FOR INCREASED BENEFITS AND REHABILITATION PROGRAMS FOR MORE THAN A WEEK. (CONFIDENTIAL) E-2 IMPDET.4

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MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 151-75.4

1. LEDANON: THE CEASE-FIRE IN BEIRUT CONTINUED TO HOLD OVER THE WEEKEND, THEREBY IMPROVING THE ATMOSPHERE FOR THE SECOND MEETING OF THE NATIONAL RECONCILIATION COMMITTEE, SCHEDULED FOR MONDAY. ISOLATED CLASHES BETWEEN CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS HAVE OCCURRED IN THE SUBURBS, UNDERLINING THE FRAGILITY OF THE TRUCE.4

A PARTICIPANT AT THE COMMITTEE'S OPENING SESSION LAST THURSDAY SAID THAT THE DATE FOR THE SECOND MEETING WAS SET IN ORDER TO AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF DEADLOCK WHILE FIGHTING WAS STILL WIDESPREAD. HE ADDED THAT PRIME MINISTER KARAMI HAS BEEN CHARGED WITH EXPLORING WAYS TO BROADEN REPRESENTATION ON THE COMMITTEE.4

THERE IS LITTLE PUBLIC SIGN OF COMPROMISE BY CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS. IN AN APPARENT RESPONSE TO EARLIER INTEMPERATE REMARKS BY PHALANGIST LEADER PIERRE JUNAYYIL, LEBANESE SOCIALIST LEADER KAMAL JUMBLATT DECLARED SATURDAY THERE WOULD BE NO RECONCILIATION WITH THE PHALANGES PARTY

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BEFORE BASIC LEFTIST DEMANDS ARE MET. HE ALSO ATTACKED LONG-TIME LEADER SAIB SALAAM FOR SEEKING CONTROL OVER BEIRUT MUSLIMS, WHOM JUMBLATT FEELS HE SHOULD REPRESENT.4

IN CONTRAST WITH THEIR PUBLIC INTRANSIGENCE, THE MAJOR POLITICAL FORCES ARE COOPERATING WITH LEBANESE SECURITY FORCES TO AVERT FURTHER OUTBREAKS OF FIGHTING.4

SPORADIC INCIDENTS AND SNIPER FIRE HAVE RECURRED EACH NIGHT IN BEIRUT SUBURBS, BUT HAVE NOT DEVELOPED INTO A SERIOUS CLASH. RENEWED FIGHTING OCCURRED SATURDAY NIGHT IN ZAGHARTA, IN NORTHERN LEBANON, BUT WAS CONTAINED BY THE ARMY.

LEBANESE SECURITY UNITS BEGAN FRIDAY TO MOVE INTO THE HARDEST HIT AREAS OF THE CAPITAL, INCLUDING THE COMMERCIAL SECTIONS. TO MAKE SECURITY FORCES AVAILABLE FOR THIS TASK, ARMY UNITS HAVE TAKEN OVER THE JOB OF MAINTAINING ORDER IN THE TOWN OF ZAHDAH AND THE NEARBY BEKAA VALLEY.4

WAR-WEARINESS AND AMMUNITION SHORTAGES ON BOTH SIDES HAVE HELPED HOLD DOWN THE FIGHTING.4

ON MONDAY, THE RECONCILIATION COMMITTEE IS TO TAKE UP

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CONCRETE PROPOSALS ON BASIC SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES,
 BUT UNLESS THERE IS SOME SIGN OF COMPROMISE BY CHRISTIANS AND
 MUSLIMS, THE EXISTENCE OF THE COMMITTEE WILL NOT BE MUCH HELP.
 SO FAR, THERE IS LITTLE SIGN OF COMPROMISE. AT ISSUE IS THE
 BASIC CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM, THE NATIONAL COVENANT OF 1943,
 WHICH HAS PRESERVED CHRISTIAN POLITICAL DOMINANCE.4

KNOWLEDGABLE OBSERVERS SEE ONE POSITIVE ELEMENT IN
 THE COMPOSITION OF COMMITTEE---TEN MUSLIMS AND TEN CHRISTIANS.
 THIS COULD SET A PRECEDENT FOR MEETING MUSLIM DEMANDS FOR
 POLITICAL PARITY. IN ADDITION, THE INCLUSION OF FOUR
 SHIA REPRESENTATIVES COULD PREPARE THE WAY FOR GREATER
 POLITICAL REPRESENTATION FOR LEBANON'S LARGEST AND POOREST
 MINORITY.4

THE LEFTISTS ARE HEAVILY REPRESENTED ON THE COMMITTEE.
 THIS MAY HAVE BEEN THE PRICE EXTRACTED BY PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST
 PARTY LEADER KAMAL JUNBLATT FOR SITTING DOWN WITH PHALANGIST
 LEADER PIERRE JUMAYYIL. THE ABSENCE OF ANY MEMBER WHO CAN
 CLEARLY BE LABELED PRESIDENT FRANJIAN'S MAN IS FURTHER

DATE
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DELEGATING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICER

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EVIDENCE OF THE INCREASING IRRELEVANCE OF THE PRESIDENT. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

2. EGYPT: CAIRO EXPERIENCED ITS FIRST OPEN OPPOSITION TO THE SINAI DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT LAST WEEK WHEN LEFTIST AND NASIRIST STUDENTS CONDUCTED THREE DAYS OF PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS AT A CAIRO UNIVERSITY.4

THE DEMONSTRATIONS WERE CONFINED TO THE CAMPUS AND APPARENTLY WERE QUELLED WHEN POLICE ARRESTED SEVERAL LEFTIST AGITATORS. ALTHOUGH AUTHORITIES HAD HOPED THAT STUDENTS WOULD REFRAIN FROM OPEN PROTEST UNTIL THE BEGINNING OF THE SCHOOL YEAR IN MID-OCTOBER, OPPOSITION BY THE STUDENTS TO THE DISENGAGEMENT WAS NOT UNEXPECTED.4

STUDENTS ARE TRADITIONALLY PRONE TO AGITATION AND SUSCEPTIBLE TO LEFTIST BLANDISHMENTS. THE MAJORITY OF EGYPTIANS, HOWEVER, STILL APPEAR TO SUPPORT THE DISENGAGEMENT AGREEMENT.4

STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE WORRIED GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, WHO APPARENTLY HAVE CENSORED PRESS COVERAGE OF THE PROTESTS. THE LACK OF PUBLICITY ABOUT THIS DOMESTIC CRITICISM IS IN STARK CONTRAST TO THE

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FULL COVERAGE GIVEN CRITICISM FROM OTHER ARAB QUARTERS.

EGYPTIANS DEEPLY RESENT THIS OUTSIDE CRITICISM, WHICH HAS SERVED TO RALLY DOMESTIC SUPPORT FOR PRESIDENT SADAT.4

ONE ASPECT OF LAST WEEK'S DEMONSTRATIONS THAT CAUSES THE GOVERNMENT PARTICULAR CONCERN IS THE PARTICIPATION OF A FORMER MEMBER OF THE FREE OFFICERS MOVEMENT, WHICH LED THE REVOLUTION IN 1952. KAMAL RIFAT, WHO WAS ARRESTED DURING THE PROTESTS, HAS NO ORGANIZED FOLLOWING, BUT HE IS WELL KNOWN-AND WELL REGARDED IN SOME CIRCLES--BOTH FOR HIS ASSOCIATION WITH THE NASIR REVOLUTION AND FOR HIS LEFTIST VIEWS.4

PERHAPS IN ANTICIPATION OF JUST SUCH PROTESTS FROM NASIRIST ELEMENTS, THE GOVERNMENT RECENTLY REVIVED A CAMPAIGN TO HIGHLIGHT THE ABUSES OF NASIR'S ERA. AMONG THE MOST PROMINENT CASES NOW BEING PUBLICIZED IS AN EFFORT TO PROVE THAT ABDUL HAKIM AMIR, ARMED FORCES COMMANDER DURING THE 1967 WAR, WHO NASIR CLAIMED COMMITTED SUICIDE FOLLOWING THE DEFEAT, WAS IN FACT POISONED ON OFFICIAL ORDERS.

{SECRET}4

3. ETHIOPIA: THE RULING MILITARY COUNCIL IS ENCOUNTERING

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RESISTANCE FROM LABOR UNIONISTS AND TEACHERS IN ADDIS ABABA.4

THE MAIN CIVILIAN AIRFIELD IN THE CAPITAL WAS CLOSED FRIDAY FOLLOWING A CLASH ON THURSDAY BETWEEN SECURITY FORCES AND UNION MEMBERS EMPLOYED BY ETHIOPIAN AIR LINES. AT LEAST FOUR AIRPORT WORKERS WERE KILLED AND 14 SERIOUSLY WOUNDED. THE CLASH OCCURRED WHEN THE GOVERNMENT'S FORCES MOVED IN TO ARREST UNION MEMBERS ACCUSED OF DISTRIBUTING PAMPHLETS ATTACKING THE MILITARY REGIME. SOME REPORTS INDICATE THAT AIRLINE WORKERS ARE PREPARING TO DEFY THE GOVERNMENT'S NO-STRIKE BAN.4

EARLIER LAST WEEK THE GOVERNMENT ARRESTED AT LEAST 20 TEACHERS CAUGHT DISTRIBUTING PAMPHLETS DEMANDING A PROMPT RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE.4

THE ANTIGOVERNMENT PAMPHLETEERING APPEARS TO BE THE OUTGROWTH OF RECENT ACTIONS BY THE CONFEDERATION OF ETHIOPIAN LABOR UNIONS, THE COUNTRY'S CENTRAL LABOR ORGANIZATION. IT RECENTLY ISSUED A MANIFESTO THREATENING A GENERAL STRIKE UNLESS POWER IS RETURNED TO CIVILIAN HANDS WITHIN A MONTH. THE MANIFESTO ALSO REPORTEDLY CALLS FOR THE SWIFT IMPLEMENTATION

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OF "MARXIST-LENINIST POLICIES." LABOR'S PROGRAM PROBABLY DOES NOT DIFFER GREATLY FROM THE PROFESSED OBJECTIVES OF THE MILITARY'S SOCIALIST REVOLUTION. THE TWO PART COMPANY ON WHO IS TO CARRY OUT THE REVOLUTION.Y

THE CONFEDERATION'S MOST EFFECTIVE LEADERS HAVE BEEN IMPRISONED FOR SEVERAL MONTHS, AND ITS ABILITY TO MAKE GOOD ON A GENERAL STRIKE THREAT IS QUESTIONABLE. POSTAL WORKERS ARE REPORTED, HOWEVER, TO HAVE STRUCK TO PROTEST THE GOVERNMENT'S TREATMENT OF THE AIRLINE WORKERS.Y

IN VIEW OF ITS NEW PROBLEMS WITH CIVILIAN OPPONENTS, THE MILITARY COUNCIL MAY REGRET ITS RECENT RELEASE FROM CUSTODY OF MORE THAN 1,000 DISAFFECTED STUDENTS WHO HAD BEEN ARRESTED AS A PRECAUTIONARY MEASURE PRIOR TO THE CELEBRATIONS IN MID-SEPTEMBER OF THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF HAILE SELASSIE'S OUSTER. THE STUDENTS COULD ADD TO THE GOVERNMENT'S MOES IN THE CAPITAL. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET.H

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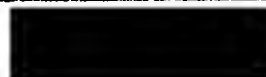
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EAST ASIA BRIEF 151-75.4

1. CHINA://PEKING HAS REHABILITATED A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF FORMER CULTURAL OFFICIALS WHO WERE AMONG THE EARLIEST PURGED DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AND WHO HAVE LONG BEEN SYMBOLS OF THE "REVISIONIST TENDENCIES" THAT THE MOVEMENT OF THE MID-1960S WAS TO HAVE EXTIRPATED.. '4

//THE SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE OF THE REHABILITATION OF THESE MEN, WHO HAVE NOW BEEN RESTORED TO PARTY MEMBERSHIP IN GOOD STANDING AND REPORTEDLY GIVEN NEW JOBS, TENDS TO CALL INTO QUESTION THE AIMS AND EFFICACY OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION ITSELF. MOREOVER, THE RETURN OF THE OFFICIALS CASTS SERIOUS DOUBT ON THE ROLE OF MAO'S WIFE CHIANG CHING IN THE CULTURAL SPHERE THAT SHE HAS DOMINATED FOR A DECADE. SHE HAS BUILT HER POLITICAL CAREER ON OPPOSITION TO THE POLICIES WITH WHICH THESE MEN ARE ASSOCIATED.//4

//A RECENT PARTY DIRECTIVE, CIRCULATED AMONG SENIOR AND MIDDLE-LEVEL CADRE IN EARLY SEPTEMBER, ASSOCIATES MAO HIMSELF WITH THE REHABILITATION. IT ALSO INDICATES THAT INTELLECTUALS WHO WERE PURGED FOR "RIGHTIST" TENDENCIES AS EARLY AS 1957, FOLLOWING THE

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FERMENT OF THE "100 FLOWERS" CAMPAIGN, ARE TO BE REHABILITATED. THE KEY FIGURES NAMED IN THE DOCUMENT INCLUDE FORMER DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF THE PARTY'S PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT CHOU YANG, AND FORMER DEPUTY MAYOR OF PEKING WU HAN--TWO INDIVIDUALS WHO, NEXT TO OUSTED HEAD OF STATE LIU SHAO-CHI, WERE MOST REVILED DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. A NOTORIOUS AND VITUPERATIVE ATTACK ON A PLAY BY WU HAN WAS THE OPENING SHOT IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION. BOTH CHIANG CHING AND POLITBURO MEMBER YAO WEN-YUAN HAD A HAND IN THE ATTACK.//4

//CHIANG CHING, WHO BEGAN HER INVOLVEMENT IN CULTURAL AFFAIRS A FEW YEARS BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, WAS PARTICULARLY VIRULENT IN HER ATTACKS ON THESE AND OTHER WELL-KNOWN CULTURAL FIGURES. THEIR RETURN IS NOT ONLY A REPUDIATION OF CHIANG CHING'S ROLE IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, BUT ALSO A SIGN OF PARTY DISSATISFACTION WITH HER ACTIVITIES IN THE SENSITIVE CULTURAL AREA SINCE THAT TIME.//4

//SEVERAL OF THE REHABILITATED OFFICIALS HAD BEEN ACCUSED BY THE RED GUARD OF BEING CLOSE PERSONAL FRIENDS OF DEPUTY PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING. THEIR RETURN SUGGESTS THAT TENG IS CONSOLIDATING HIS POSITION AT CHIANG CHING'S EXPENSE.//4

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//THE REHABILITATION OF THESE OFFICIALS UNDOUBTEDLY CAUSES DISSATISFACTION AND UNHAPPINESS WITHIN THE PARTY'S LEFT WING. SOME OF THIS PRESUMED DISSATISFACTION MAY HAVE SURFACED IN THE INITIAL CRITICISM OF THE 14TH CENTURY CHINESE NOVEL "WATER MARGIN" LATE LAST MONTH. THE EARLY DISCUSSION OF THE NOVEL FOCUSED MAINLY ON THE ISSUE OF "AMNESTY," WHICH APPEARS TO BE A CODEWORD FOR REHABILITATION. THE NOVEL'S LEADING FIGURE AND SEVERAL OF HIS COHORTS WERE HEAVILY CRITICIZED FOR SEEKING AND ACCEPTING AMNESTY FROM THE "EMPEROR"--WHO SEEMS TO REPRESENT MAO. THIS EARLY CRITICISM OF THE NOVEL MAY HAVE BEEN AN EXPRESSION OF FRUSTRATION BY PARTY "LEFTISTS" OVER THE PROPOSED REHABILITATION OF THE CULTURAL OFFICIALS.//4

//SINCE THE EDITORIAL IN PEOPLE'S DAILY ON SEPTEMBER 4, HOWEVER, CRITICISM OF THE NOVEL HAS BEEN MUTED AND THE AMNESTY QUESTION SUBORDINATED TO OTHER ISSUES. SIGNIFICANTLY, THE DIRECTIVE ANNOUNCING THE REHABILITATION OF CHOU YANG, MU HAN, AND OTHERS WAS FIRST CIRCULATED AT PROVINCIAL LEVELS THE FOLLOWING DAY. "LEFTIST" ELEMENTS MAY HAVE REGARDED THE EDITORIAL--WHICH STRESSED

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UNITY AND STABILITY--AS WELL AS CIRCULATION OF THE DIRECTIVE ITSELF, AS STRONG SIGNS THAT THE ISSUE WAS CLOSED.//4

//NONE OF THE CULTURAL OFFICIALS MENTIONED IN THE DOCUMENT HAVE YET APPEARED PUBLICLY, BUT THE APPEARANCE IN MAY OF THE FORMER HEAD OF PEKING UNIVERSITY MAY HAVE BEEN A FORERUNNER OF THE PUBLIC RETURN OF THESE HIGH-RANKING OFFICIALS. RUMORS ARE NOW CIRCULATING THAT MANY WILL APPEAR FOR THE FIRST TIME DURING NATIONAL DAY CELEBRATIONS ON OCTOBER 1. {SECRET}//4

2. JAPAN-CHINA: THE SINO-JAPANESE TALKS IN NEW YORK LAST WEEK APPARENTLY DID NOT ACHIEVE A BREAKTHROUGH ON A TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP. THE CHINESE REPORTEDLY INSISTED THAT IT INCLUDE THE CONTROVERSIAL ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE.4

NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN STALLED SINCE JUNE OVER CHINESE INSISTENCE ON A CLAUSE AGAINST "THIRD-PARTY HEGEMONY" IN ASIA, A THINLY VEILED ANTI-SOVIET FORMULATION. WHILE THE JAPANESE ORIGINALLY WISHED TO AVOID INCLUDING THE CLAUSE ALTOGETHER, THEIR POSITION HAS GRADUALLY SOFTENED.4

PRIME MINISTER MIKI WANTS TO CONCLUDE A TREATY, BUT AMONG HIS

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MAJOR CONCERNS ARE MOSCOW'S HOSTILE REACTION AND A CONFLICT WITH HIS OWN PARTY'S MORE CONSERVATIVE ELEMENTS. IN THE LATEST OFFER, FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA PROPOSED THAT AT THE TIME THE TREATY IS SIGNED, BOTH TOKYO AND PEKING STATE THAT THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE IS NOT DIRECTED AT ANY THIRD COUNTRY. MIYAZAWA EMPHASIZED THAT TOKYO'S DESIRE TO TREAT THE CLAUSE AS A "GENERAL PEACE PRINCIPLE" RATHER THAN AS AN ANTI-SOVIET PRINCIPLE STEMMED FROM JAPAN'S NO-WAR CONSTITUTION; HE SAID TOKYO COULD NOT AGREE TO A CLAUSE AIMED AT A THIRD COUNTRY OR TAKE MILITARY ACTION BASED ON IT.4

CHINESE FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA REPORTEDLY CLAIMED THAT PEKING WILL BE SATISFIED IF JAPAN SIMPLY REMAINS NEUTRAL IN ITS RELATIONS WITH CHINA AND THE USSR, BUT AT THE SAME TIME HE RE-EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE PEKING ATTACHES TO INCLUDING THE ANTI-HEGEMONY PRINCIPLE IN THE TREATY. HE STATED THAT CHINA CAN "WAIT" FOR THE TREATY.4

PEKING WILL NOT ACCEPT ANY JOINT STATEMENT QUALIFYING ANTI-HEGEMONY. CHIAO'S AGREEMENT TO STUDY THE JAPANESE PROPOSAL SUGGESTS THAT THE CHINESE SEE AT LEAST SOME POSSIBILITY FOR

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ADDITIONAL JAPANESE CONCESSIONS. IN THE MEANTIME, THEY SEEM
CONFIDENT THAT BILATERAL RELATIONS WILL CONTINUE TO PROGRESS EVEN
IF AGREEMENT ON THE TREATY IS FURTHER DELAYED.4

TOKYO DOES NOT EXPECT RAPID MOVEMENT ON ITS LATEST INITIATIVE.
MIYAZAWA INDICATED THE CHINESE RESPONSE MIGHT BE SEVERAL WEEKS
OFF. {CONFIDENTIAL}4

3. CHINA-VIETNAM: THE ONLY CONCRETE RESULT THUS FAR OF NORTH
VIETNAMESE PARTY CHIEF LE DUAN'S FIVE-DAY VISIT TO PEKING IS A TERSE
ANNOUNCEMENT ON CHINESE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.4

THE AGREEMENTS SIGNED ON THURSDAY CALL FOR AN INTEREST-FREE
LOAN AND A SUPPLY OF "GENERAL COMMODITIES" TO NORTH VIETNAM IN 1976.
AS IN PAST YEARS, NO DETAILS WERE ANNOUNCED.//NEITHER THE CHINESE
NOR VIETNAMESE ANNOUNCEMENTS MENTIONED MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO HANOI,
ALMOST CERTAINLY A REFLECTION OF REDUCED VIETNAMESE MILITARY AID
REQUIREMENTS SINCE THE END OF THE INDOCHINA WAR. THE REFERENCE TO
AN INTERST-FREE LOAN IS NEW AND SUGGESTS THAT PEKING HAS ALTERED ITS
VIEW OF ECONOMIC AID RESPONSIBILITIES TO HANOI AS WELL, FOR SIMILAR
REASONS, AND FEELS ITSELF LESS OBLIGATED TO PROVIDE GRANT AID.//4

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CHINESE HANDLING OF THE DELEGATION SEEMS TO UNDERLINE THE COOLNESS IN CURRENT SINO-VIETNAMESE RELATIONS. PRESS TREATMENT WAS NOTICEABLY LESS EFFUSIVE THAN IT HAD BEEN DURING LE DUAN'S LAST VISIT IN 1973. MOREOVER, THE CHINESE TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE WELCOMING BANQUET FOR THE VIETNAMESE DELEGATION TO AGAIN POINT OUT THE DANGERS OF "SUPERPOWER HEGEMONISM," A CHARACTERIZATION OF SOVIET INTENTIONS THAT HANOI DOES NOT SHARE AND ONE THAT THE VIETNAMESE OMITTED FROM THEIR OWN PRESS COVERAGE OF THE BANQUET.4

THE TROUBLESOME QUESTION OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE PARACEL AND SPRATLY ISLANDS IN THE SOUTH CHINA SEA MAY ALSO HAVE HAD AN ADVERSE IMPACT ON THE DISCUSSIONS. JUST PRIOR TO THE DELEGATION'S DEPARTURE FOR PEKING EARLY IN THE WEEK, TWO CHINESE BROADCASTS TO VIETNAM UNDERSCORED PEKING'S CLAIM TO BOTH ISLAND GROUPS. {SECRET}4

4. PORTUGUESE TIMOR: //INDONESIAN MILITARY COMMANDERS ARE LOSING PATIENCE ONCE AGAIN WITH PRESIDENT SUHARTO'S GO-SLOW APPROACH TO THE PORTUGUESE TIMOR PROBLEM AND ARE PRESSING HIM TO AUTHORIZE DIRECT MILITARY INTERVENTION.//4

NEITHER PORTION OF SUHARTO'S TWO-PRONGED PROGRAM FOR TIMOR HAS

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PRODUCED NOTEWORTHY RESULTS. ON THE DIPLOMATIC FRONT, LISBON HAS CONTINUED TO ASSERT ITS DESIRE TO NEGOTIATE A SETTLEMENT, BUT HAS SET NO TIMETABLE. NONE OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES SEEMS TO BE IN AGREEMENT ON A VENUE OR A FORMAT FOR DISCUSSIONS. THE GOVERNOR OF TIMOR HAS BEEN RECALLED TO LISBON FOR CONSULTATIONS, BUT THERE IS NO WORD ABOUT WHAT PROPOSALS, IF ANY, ARE BEING CONSIDERED.4

JAKARTA HAS BEEN KEEPING THE PRESSURE ON LISBON, BUT IS CONCERNED THAT PORTUGAL WILL ULTIMATELY WASH ITS HANDS OF TIMOR AND RECOGNIZE THE DE FACTO RULE CLAIMED BY THE LEFTIST FRETILIN PARTY, WHICH NOW CONTROLS MOST MAJOR TOWNS. LISBON THUS FAR HAS BEEN CAREFUL TO DO NOTHING THAT MIGHT BE INTERPRETED BY JAKARTA AS A DELIBERATE THREAT TO INDONESIAN INTERESTS, BUT AT THE SAME TIME IT IS CLEAR THAT PORTUGAL IS IN NO POSITION TO ENFORCE ITS WILL ON FRETILIN. FRETILIN'S LEADERS, BUOYED BY RECENT MILITARY SUCCESSES, ARE TAKING A HARD LINE AGAINST COOPERATING WITH THE OTHER TIMORESE PARTIES OR PARTICIPATING IN ANY NEGOTIATIONS THAT INCLUDE THEM. FRETILIN ASSERTS THAT ITS CONTROL OF EAST TIMOR ENTITLES IT TO REPRESENT ALL TIMORESE IN DISCUSSIONS WITH LISBON.4

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THE OTHER HALF OF SUHARTO'S TIMOR POLICY, CLANDESTINE INTERVENTION BY INDONESIAN TROOPS ON BEHALF OF PRO-INDONESIAN FORCES IN THE TERRITORY, HAS SUFFERED SERIOUS REVERSES RECENTLY. THE PRO-INDONESIA TIMORESE ARE TOO FEW, TOO POORLY ARMED, AND TOO BADLY TRAINED TO OFFER A SERIOUS CHALLENGE TO THE FRETILIN FORCES. THE CORE OF THE PRO-FRETILIN FIGHTING UNITS ARE FORMER MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCIAL MILITIA TRAINED BY THE PORTUGUESE, IN WHICH TIMORESE SERVED AS THE RANK AND FILE AND FILLED SOME NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICER POSITIONS.4

THE PRO-INDONESIA FORCES ALSO SUFFER FROM THEIR INABILITY TO AROUSE POPULAR ENTHUSIASM FOR THEIR CAUSE. IN TOWNS THEY HAVE OCCUPIED WITH JAKARTA'S HELP, THEY OFTEN FACE AN INDIFFERENT AND SOMETIMES HOSTILE POPULATION, AND ONCE THE INDONESIAN TROOPS HAVE WITHDRAWN, THE TIMORESE HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO DEFEND THEIR POSITIONS. JAKARTA'S CLANDESTINE EFFORT HAS LITTLE CHANCE OF SUCCESS UNLESS LARGE NUMBERS OF INDONESIAN TROOPS ARE COMMITTED TO THE FIGHT.4

RECENT PRESS REPORTS FROM JAKARTA THAT CLAIM FRETILIN FORCES * CROSSED THE BORDER AND ATTACKED INDONESIAN TIMOR MAY HAVE BEEN

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RELEASED BY MILITARY OFFICERS IN AN EFFORT TO ADD PRESSURE ON SUHARTO. HE WILL FIND IT HARD TO REFUSE TO AUTHORIZE MILITARY RETALIATION, AND THE COMMANDERS CLEARLY HOPE THAT HE WILL PERMIT MORE THAN JUST A TIT-FOR-TAT REPRISAL. THUS FAR, HOWEVER, SUHARTO HAS ONLY ORDERED A STRENGTHENING OF INDONESIAN POSITIONS ALONG THE BORDER, LEAVING OPEN THE QUESTION OF WHETHER HE WILL PERMIT PURSUIT OF THE ALLEGED ATTACKERS INTO TIMORESE TERRITORY. (SECRET) E-2 IMPDET.H

SDO DDODD

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DATE: SEPTEMBER 29, 1975
 ORIG: [REDACTED]
 UNIT: OCI/FLO
 EXT: 1945

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